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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	
				-----8B5B93 300650Z /38			

P 291224Z DEC 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2628  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 05356

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL COMPROMISE

REFS: (A) KIGALI 05319, (B) STATE 413010

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: AFTER A SERIES OF PRODUCTIVE PARTY MEETINGS AND A FRESH RUHIGIRA-TWAGIRAMUNGU UNDERSTANDING, THERE IS RENEWED HOPE FOR A COMPROMISE TO BREAK THE KIGALI-ARUSHA DEADLOCK. IT INVOLVES GIVING A CABINET POSITION TO THE CDR AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF COMMITMENTS TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE, ETHNISM AND REGIONALISM. THE CONCEPT OF AN INNER CABINET TO HELP PREVENT BLOCKAGE, AND A NEW OFFER BY THE MRND ON THE CLEANUP OF THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION MOVE THE PROCESS SUBSTANTIALLY FORWARD. ANOTHER FAIT ACCOMPLI IN ARUSHA, HOWEVER, WOULD THREATEN THIS POTENTIAL COMPROMISE WHICH WILL STILL TAKE A FEW DAYS

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TO IMPLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

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THE PROCESS

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3. REAL PROGRESS IS NOW BEING MADE IN TALKS BETWEEN HABYARIMANA'S MRND AND THE OPPOSING MDR, PL, PSD PARTIES. THE FIRST STEP WAS PREPARATION BY THE MRND OF A LONG PAPER, HALF OF WHICH WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF AND INSULTING TO THE OPPOSITION, BUT THE REST CONTAINED SERIOUS PROPOSALS AND SOME SUBSTANTIAL COMPROMISES. THE NEXT DAY, DECEMBER 22, THE PARTIES MET AND MADE ENOUGH PROGRESS TO SCHEDULE AGAIN FOR DECEMBER 24 WHEN THEY MET FOR THE ENTIRE DAY AND PLANNED TO MEET AGAIN ON DECEMBER 25. THE CHRISTMAS DAY MEETING WAS NOT AS PRODUCTIVE AS IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DUE TO THE ABSENCE OF MRND NATIONAL SECRETARY MATTHIEU NGIRUMPATSE WHOSE SISTER DIED ON CHRISTMAS. NGIRUMPATSE IS NOW BEING SEEN BY THE OPPOSITION

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LEADERS AS NO LONGER EVIL INCARNATE, BUT AS A MODERATE WITH WHOM COMPROMISES CAN BE MADE. THE OTHER KEY TO THE INTERNAL NEGOTIATION IS THE RENEWAL OF MEETINGS BETWEEN MDR PRESIDENT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR, ENOCH RUHIGIRA, WHO MET FOR MOST OF THE DAY DECEMBER 28.

A COMPROMISE ON THE CDR

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4. MDR PRESIDENT TWAGIRAMUNGU CAME TO THE HOUSE LAST EVENING, DECEMBER 28, TO BRING ME UP TO DATE, AND TO TELL ME HE WAS NOW CONVINCED THAT IT IS BETTER TO BRING THE CDR INTO THE NEXT GOVERNMENT THAN TO LEAVE THEM OUTSIDE, THREATENING. HE SAID HE HAD REACHED THIS CONCLUSION AFTER TALKS WITH RUHIGIRA. HE SAID HE WAS NOW CONVINCED THAT IF RWANDANS WANTED TO HAVE REAL NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THEY HAD TO REACH OUT NOT ONLY TO THE RPF BUT ALSO TO THE HUTU SUPREMISTS IN THE CDR. FURTHERMORE, HE SAID, THAT IF THE CDR WERE NOT INCLUDED, THEY WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY STIMULATE MASSACRES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE KILLING OF TUTSIS, AND OTHER EFFORTS AT DISRUPTING THE PROGRESS OF THE PEACE ACCORD. HE NOTED THAT THE CDR

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HAD AGAIN THREATENED EXACTLY THIS TYPE OF DISRUPTION  
IF THEY ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT  
(CARRIED AT LENGTH ON RADIO RWANDA DECEMBER 28).

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5. TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS A BIT CONCERNED, HOWEVER,  
BECAUSE HE HIMSELF HAS BEEN ON RECORD PUBLICLY  
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INSISTING THAT THE CDR COULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE  
GOVERNMENT. FURTHERMORE, HE HAD TALKED WITH JUSTIN  
MUGENZI OF THE PL WHO WAS STILL INSISTENT THAT THE  
CDR BE EXCLUDED. I TOLD HIM I HAD SPENT A COUPLE OF  
HOURS EARLIER IN THE DAY TALKING THE ISSUE WITH  
MUGENZI AND BELIEVED THAT HE AND HIS EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE COULD BE PERSUADED IF TWAGIRAMUNGU HOLDS  
FIRM TO HIS LATEST POSITION.

6. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE HAD ASKED RUHIGIRA TO  
SUGGEST TO THE BISHOPS THAT THEY BEGIN AN EFFORT TO  
PERSUADE THE OTHER PARTIES OF THE WISDOM OF INCLUDING

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2629  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
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THE CDR IN THIS PERIOD OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. I  
SUGGESTED TO TWAGIRAMUNGU THAT HE ALSO ENGAGE THE  
BISHOPS TO EXPAND UPON THE CRITERIA THAT THEY HAD  
PUBLISHED ON NOVEMBER 26 OR 27 FOR PARTIES TO BE  
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INCLUDED IN THE GOVERNMENT. I SUGGESTED THEY COULD  
USE AN OATH OF OFFICE OR SOME OTHER FORM OF PUBLIC  
STATEMENT TO MAKE THE CDR COMMIT ITSELF TO ACCEPT THE  
ARUSHA PROCESS, TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE, AND TO RENOUNCE  
REGIONAL AND ETHNIC POLITICS. I SUGGESTED THAT THIS  
SHOULD ENABLE THOSE WHO HAVE PUBLICLY TRIED TO  
EXCLUDE THE CDR TO SAY THAT THE CDR HAS NOW CHANGED.  
I SAID IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO HAVE SUCH A PUBLIC  
COMMITMENT FROM THE RPF AND OTHER PARTIES BEFORE THE  
GOVERNMENT IS FORMED. FINALLY, I SUGGESTED THAT  
TWAGIRAMUNGU LET THE BISHOPS DO THE DRAFTING OF THE  
COMMITMENT, SO IT BECOMES A NATIONAL STATEMENT RATHER  
THAN THE RESULT OF A POLITICAL DEAL, AND THAT THEY  
LET THE MRND DO THE NEGOTIATING WITH THE CDR, SINCE  
THE MRND HAS INSISTED THE CDR BE A PART OF THE NEXT  
GOVERNMENT.

INNER CABINET

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7. TWAGIRAMUNGU WONDERED ALOUD IF THERE WAS ANY WAY  
TO GO BACK ON THE CONCEPT OF A TWO-THIRDS VOTE IN THE  
CABINET. HE SAID THE CONCEPT OF VOTING MEANT A  
CONTINUATION OF THE CONCEPT OF BLOCS; HE WOULD FAR

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PREFER TO BE ABLE TO BUILD A CONSENSUS. I TOLD HIM THAT I DID NOT THINK THAT THEY COULD BACK OUT OF THE ONE-THIRD, TWO-THIRDS VOTE, SINCE IT HAD BEEN SIGNED IN ARUSHA, AND TO GO BACK ON THAT CONCEPT WOULD REOPEN QUITE A NUMBER OF THINGS. I SAID THAT THE CONCEPT, OF COURSE, WAS DESIGNED TO MEET THE COMPLAINTS THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU HIMSELF HAD HAD ABOUT

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BLOCKAGE IN THE CABINET AND, THEREFORE, SOME KIND OF MECHANISM OF THIS NATURE WAS PROBABLY NECESSARY. I EXPLAINED THE VARIOUS MECHANISMS IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS FOR BREAKING IMPASSES. I SAID IT WAS BETTER TO SEARCH FOR OTHER WAYS TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS RATHER THAN TO TRY TO REOPEN THE ONE-THIRD, TWO-THIRD QUESTION.

8. I ASKED TWAGIRAMUNGU IF HE SAW THE INNER CABINET AS A USEFUL MECHANISM. HE SAID HE WAS IN FAVOR OF THE INNER CABINET IDEA, AS DESCRIBED IN THE MRND PAPER, BUT WASN'T QUITE SURE HOW IT WORKED. I TOLD HIM MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT ANY ISSUE THAT CAME TO THE CABINET THAT THREATENED TO BE A DIVISIVE ONE WOULD BE FIRST RETURNED TO THE MINISTRY RESPONSIBLE, FOR REFORMULATION, THEN BROUGHT BACK TO THE CABINET, THEN, IF IT STILL APPEARED DIVISIVE, IT WOULD BE REFERRED TO THE INNER CABINET. THE INNER CABINET WOULD SEEK TO SOFTEN THE EDGES OF THE PROPOSAL BEFORE PUTTING IT BACK TO THE FULL CABINET AGAIN. THUS, AS I UNDERSTAND THE PROPOSED MECHANISM, IT WOULD BE DESIGNED SO THAT THE ONE-THIRD, TWO-THIRD VOTE WOULD HAPPEN VERY RARELY, SOMEWHAT LIKE THE USE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT TO BREAK A TIE VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION  
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9. THE MRND PAPER HAS MADE A MAJOR STEP FORWARD ON THE QUESTION OF THE CLEANUP OF THE TERRITORIAL

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ADMINISTRATION. THE MRND HAS NOW AGREED THAT THOSE BOURGEMESTRES AND SUB-PREFECTS WHO HAD BEEN IDENTIFIED FOR REPLACEMENT BY THE COMMISSION ON THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION LAST JULY CAN BE RELIEVED OF THEIR DUTIES, PROVIDED THAT THEY WILL BE GIVEN SOME COMPARABLE EMPLOYMENT ELSEWHERE. THESE ARE THE FAMOUS CASES OF GATETE, RAMBUKA AND OTHERS THAT THE MRND HAS SAID WERE FALSELY ACCUSED OF INCITING VIOLENCE, BUT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE INSISTED MUST BE REMOVED IF THERE IS GOING TO BE A FREE ELECTION EVER IN THIS COUNTRY. TWAGIRAMUNGU AND MUGENZI HAVE AGREED THAT THIS IS A SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION, AND THAT THE GUILTY BOURGEMESTRES COULD

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
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BE PLACED IN JOBS IN THE POST OFFICE OR EDSEWHERE AT  
THEIR SAME SALARY WHERE THEY COULD DO NO FURTHER HARM  
TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

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10. DISCUSSION OF OTHER MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS SHOWS  
A SOFTENING ON THE PART OF THE OPPOSITION ON  
TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT  
IF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR GOES TO SOMEONE OTHER  
THAN THE MRND, THE NEED FOR A THOROUGH CLEANUP OF THE  
TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION WILL DIMINISH  
SUBSTANTIALLY. THE OPPOSITION FEAR OF THE POWER OF  
THE BOURGEMESTRES WAS RELATED TO THE CONTROL OF THE  
BOURGEMESTRES BY AN MRND MINISTER OF INTERIOR. WITH  
A DIFFERENT MINISTER, SOME OF THE BOURGEMESTRES WILL  
QUIT, OTHERS WILL CHANGE THEIR STRIPES QUICKLY, SO  
THE NEED FOR REPLACEMENT WILL BE REDUCED.

OTHER MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS  
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11. MUGENZI OFFERED SOME INTERESTING THOUGHTS ON THE  
ASSIGNMENT OF PORTFOLIOS. HE BELIEVES THAT NEITHER  
THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE NOR THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR  
SHOULD BE GIVEN TO EITHER THE MRND OR THE RPF. HE  
AGREES THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO THE PL  
EITHER, BECAUSE OF ITS IDENTIFICATION OF THE RPF.  
THE MDR SHOULD NOT HOLD THEM BECAUSE THE MDR WILL  
CONTINUE TO APPOINT THE PRIME MINISTER. THEREFORE,  
THE SECURITY MINISTRIES SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PSD.  
MUGENZI IS PARTICULARLY UPSET THAT SOMEBODY HAS  
ALREADY ANNOUNCED INTERIOR GOING TO THE RPF. HE  
BELIEVES THAT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DIGEST  
IN THE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE. MY GUESS IS THAT HE  
HAS A HOPE OF BEING ABLE TO TRADE THE RPF OUT OF  
INTERIOR BY BRINGING MRND OUT OF DEFENSE.

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12. IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE CDR, TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS PREPARED TO GIVE THE CDR A MINISTRY, IF NECESSARY, BUT HOPED THAT THE CDR QUESTION COULD BE RESOLVED BY GIVING THE CDR A CABINET POSITION WITH THE TITLE OF STATE SECRETARY. BOTH MUGENZI AND TWAGIRAMUNGU HAVE OFFERED TO THE MRND AN ADDITIONAL SEAT IN THE CABINET IF THAT WOULD HELP RESOLVE THE ISSUE, THAT IS TO GIVE MRND FIVE SEATS. MUGENZI ASKED ME TO PRESENT TO THE GOVERNMENT A PROPOSAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD COME BACK AND PROPOSE MRND HAVE SIX SEATS. HE SAID THEY WOULD NEGOTIATE FROM THAT POSITION. THUS THE BOTTOM LINE SEEMS TO BE THAT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL ACCEPT SIX SEATS FOR THE MRND, OR FIVE SEATS FOR THE MRND AND ONE FOR THE CDR, LEAVING THE PDC AS THE SWING VOTE NECESSARY FOR A BLOCKING THIRD IF AND WHEN THE PRESIDENT VOTES IN CABINET SESSION.

## COMMENT

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13. I BELIEVE THE FORMULA OUTLINED BY TWAGIRAMUNGU AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BY MUGENZI CAN BE SOLD TO THE MRND, PROVIDED THAT THERE IS NO PREEMPTIVE STRIKE IN ARUSHA. IF NGULINZIRA DECIDES HE HAS TO SIGN SOMETHING BEFORE LEAVING THE TANZANIAN RESORT, THE PROCESS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE SET BACK.

14. TWAGIRAMUNGU WANTED TO KNOW IF WE COULD HELP HIM IN HIS NEW EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION. I SAID WE HAD ALREADY STARTED WITH THE EFFORTS BY A/S COHEN TO

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PERSUADE KENYARENGWE THAT AN INCLUSIVE CABINET WOULD BE BETTER THAN AN EXCLUSIVE ONE (REF B).

15. I SPENT A COUPLE OF HOURS ON SUNDAY WITH RUHIGIRA GOING OVER THE SAME GROUND THAT HE AND I THEN WENT OVER WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU YESTERDAY. WITH THE CONSENT OF BOTH PARTIES, I HAVE CONTINUED TO ENCOURAGE AND FACILITATE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO FOR ALMOST A YEAR. FLATEN